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Date 3/2/71

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H.M. DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

NET. 4/3  
NEAR EASTERN

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367

FILE No. NET 4/3 (Part )

TITLE: Political Situation in  
Jerusalem & West Bank of Jordan

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1970

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**OTHER RELATED FILES:**

Mr. Price / PP 9/10 CONFIDENTIAL

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Mr. Price again  
to draft ack.

P.A. / PP 3/2



(i) <sup>13/10</sup> ~~copy as shown~~ →  
~~copy to Res D. Cabinet~~  
~~Assessments Staff~~

(ii) Mr. Markus (iii) Enter

COM  
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Dear Evans,

BRITISH CONSULATE-GENERAL, JERUSALEM.

RECEIVED IN	JERUSALEM.
REGISTRY	5 October, 1970.
F	
NET/3	

R.E.

(LAST PAPER) 9/10.

Even in normal circumstances it would perhaps be a little early to assess the effect of the recent events in Jordan on the people of the West Bank. Arab emotions tend to be highly volatile, and just as they were cooling down after the agreement between King Hussein and Yasir Arafat, they were raised to even greater heights by the sudden death of President Nasser who was largely responsible for achieving the agreement, and who died on the day of the Moslem feast celebrating Mohammed's ascension into Heaven. Nevertheless it might be of interest to put down on paper some impressions formed during and since the fighting in Jordan.

2. Before the six day war, the West Bank attitude to the East Bank was conditioned by two basic factors. The first was that the people on the two banks are inevitably linked much more closely to each other than they are to any outside Arab state. There must be few West Bank families who do not have at least one relative in Amman or elsewhere on the East Bank. Secondly, the West Bankers, even those who spend their time watching goats on stony hillsides or washing plates in the kitchen, consider themselves as superior to the "uncivilized" Beduin on the other side of the Jordan. It is quite a common complaint that allegedly half educated sons of sheikhs enjoy the best positions in the Jordanian government, administration and army whilst Palestinians with university degrees have to be content with minor posts.

3. After the 1967 war, a further factor came into play in the form of difficulties of communication between those members of a family living on the West Bank and those living on the East Bank. There are always means for exchanging news across the Jordan with relatives living on the other side, but they are limited, and the only sure way of maintaining contact is through friends and relatives living in third countries, inevitably a lengthy process. Finally, in the recent events, a fourth factor began to have influence on the people here. Their limited means for obtaining news direct from Jordan disappeared completely, and they were at the mercy, not only of inflammatory broadcasts from Damascus and Baghdad, but also of hardly reassuring reports from journalists and the B.B.C. These were not of a nature to calm people's emotions. In parentheses it might be said that if the final

R. M. Evans, Esq.,  
Near Eastern Department,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
LONDON, S.W.1.

/reports

(LAST PAPER)

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reports from Jordan show these journalists in the same light as the last United Kingdom general election showed the Public Opinion Polls, it will not be a bad thing, but unfortunately the damage will already have been done.

4. In the past it has been difficult to speak of a "West Bank opinion" since, apart from the people's desire for peace and freedom from Israel occupation, including the complete liberation of East Jerusalem, they seem to have been agreed on nothing else. The differing points of view could however be summarized under three main headings:

- (a) complete loyalty to the King and to the idea of the West Bank as part of Jordan. People holding this point of view belonged mainly to the establishment and consisted of former Jordanian ministers, deputies and other official appointees;
- (b) the apathetic mass who, whilst not being enthusiastic about the King, and even being antagonistic to him, were nevertheless willing to accept him provided he could achieve the liberation of the West Bank and allow them to lead their own lives comfortably and quietly;
- (c) the P.L.O. sympathizers who wished to abolish the monarchy altogether. Even one of these however, grudgingly told me that King Hussein on his own was acceptable, although he would have to cut himself off from the "corrupt clique" surrounding him and work with the P.L.O. if he wished to survive.

5. At the present moment, this situation has changed completely, and only a minority, even of the "establishment" have a good word to say for the King. It would seem that the emotional strain of being separated from relatives, who, according to the only reports available, were being mown down by ferocious Beduin at the King's express command, has brought to the surface all the anti-Hashemite, anti-East Bank feelings which have lain dormant since 1948. The King's grandfather is blamed for causing the refugee problem by calling on the Arabs of Jaffa Haifa and elsewhere to forsake their homes, and for giving up Ramleh and Lydda without a fight: King Hussein himself is blamed for having given preference to the East Bank over the West Bank during the period they were united under his rule: for giving the West Bank into the hands of Israel by his ill-fated attack on the latter in 1967: and now for trying to liquidate the Fedayeen, the only people who can be said to represent the West Bank personality.

*The  
Israeli  
thesis, of  
course.  
G.M.*

6. Perhaps because of the Israeli presence, there has been little public demonstration of this anti-Hussein feeling. A call for a

/strike

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strike in protest against the fighting failed completely outside the Old City walls, and was only partially observed within. Sixteen Mayors on the West Bank published a letter of protest to Hussein, making him responsible for what was going on in Jordan. In another letter to the Kings and leaders of Arab states they asked for their intervention to stop the fighting. Sheikh Ja'abari of Hebron wrote similar letters in his own name. Arabs have been refusing invitations to parties while the fighting was in progress. Nevertheless in conversation with individuals, and from reports from other parts of the West Bank, one is left in no doubt of this violent anti-Hussein feeling. "Even Israel has not treated us as badly as this" some women lamented. It would seem that, in their helplessness, West Bankers are venting their anger and frustrations on the King the author of all their ills.

7. This is clearly a reaction based on emotion, but will it have any lasting political effects? Will the idea of a "Palestinian Entity" for example have been given a boost by it? As has been said earlier, Arab emotions are volatile, and should final reports from Jordan indicate that reports of killing and damage were vastly exaggerated; should West Bankers find that their relatives are, after all, alive and well there; and should the King make the right noises about the liberation of Palestine, this tide of hostile emotion may well recede, allowing his supporters to speak for him again. This reaction may be helped by the death of President Nasser since the vast outpouring of emotion occasioned by this is bound to leave the local people feeling somewhat washed out. Nevertheless, things can never be quite the same again. Palestine is now on the political map. Although the West Bank generally has suffered only mildly so far from the Fedayeen influence, the underlying bonds of sympathy between them and the local population are bound to have been strengthened considerably by the recent fighting. King Hussein has been reported as saying on more than one occasion that once the West Bank and East Jerusalem are liberated, he will allow the population to decide on their own destiny. This is a promise he will now have to keep.

8. As for the Palestine Entity idea, although I think this did receive an impulse in the first few days, and further developments were eagerly awaited by some circles in Israel, the Israel government is reported to have reacted cautiously, realizing the emotional basis for it. Mrs. Golda Meir's New Year broadcast reiterating Israel's peace terms for the West Bank and Jerusalem is also certain to have acted as a cold douche to those who would like to set up a viable arab state between Israel and Transjordan. To sum up therefore, I would suggest that the most important effect on the West Bank of the recent events in Jordan has been a further increase in the sense of Palestinian nationalism. Providing

/King

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King Hussein retains control in Jordan, and his agreement with Yasir Arafat holds, there will be no obvious political change here. If and when peace comes however, he will have to come to terms with this strengthened national sense.

*You ever,*

*Gwendolyn*

(G. W. Woodrow)  
Acting British Consul General

Copies to:

Chancery, Tel Aviv; Chancery, Amman.

EN CLAIR

(3) **TOP COPY**

CONTINE JERUSALEM

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELEGRAM NUMBER 113

7 OCTOBER 1970

UNCLASSIFIED 070920Z.

ADDRESSED TO F C O TEL NO 113 DATED 7/10 R F I TO TEL  
AIV, AMMAN AND UKMISS NEW YORK. NET413

ISRAEL RADIO ENGLISH NEWS YESTERDAY EVENING INCLUDED  
SHORT EXTRACTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH MAYOR TEDDY KOLLEK  
BY JOURNALISTS BEING SHOWN OVER NEW INDUSTRIAL SITES IN  
WEST JERUSALEM.

HE SAID THAT THERE WAS A SHORTAGE OF ISRAEL LABOUR AND  
THAT 60 PERCENT OF THOSE WORKING ON THE SITE WERE ARABS,  
MANY OF THEM FROM NEIGHBOURING BETHLEHEM. RSM  
P.L.

2. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS HE SAID THAT ISRAELI/ARAB  
RELATIONS ON THE SITES WERE GOOD BUT THAT THERE WAS NO  
ARAB CO-OPERATION IN RUNNING JERUSALEM AND NONE COULD  
BE EXPECTED IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE PLAN FOR AN ARAB MUNICIPALITY OR BOROUGH IN EAST  
JERUSALEM WHICH HE SUGGESTED SOME MONTHS AGO WAS NOT  
PRACTICAL POLITICS AT PRESENT AND MUST AWAIT A PEACE  
SETTLEMENT.

HE FAVoured A BOROUGH SYSTEM ON THE LINES OF THE GREATER  
LONDON COUNCIL.

WHEN ASKED WHETHER ARABS HAD APPROACHED HIM ABOUT SELF  
RULE IN EAST JERUSALEM HE REPLIED THAT IF THERE WERE  
SUCH ARABS, AND HE KNEW OF NONE, IT WOULD BE AS MUCH AS  
THEIR LIFE WAS WORTH TO MAKE SUCH AN APPROACH.

THEY WOULD BE CONSIDERED AS TRAITORS.

THERE WAS SOME ARAB SELF RULE AT LOW LEVELS IN THE VILLAGES  
NOW INCLUDED WITHIN THE CITY LIMITS. BUT THE PROBLEM AS  
A WHOLE COULD ONLY BE SOLVED FOLLOWING A PEACE SETTLEMENT.

HE HAD AN AGREEMENT WITH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
WHEREBY THEY DID NOT INTERFERE WITH GARBAGE COLLECTION  
AND HE DID NOT INTERFERE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

F.C.O. PLEASE PASS UKMIS NEW YORK

MR. WOODROW

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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H.E.D.

FFFFF

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**FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE**

**DIPLOMATIC REPORT No. 55/70**

**NET 4/3**

*North Africa and Middle East Distribution*

**JERUSALEM**

**20 January, 1970**

**JERUSALEM AND THE WEST BANK OF JORDAN: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1969**

*The British Consul-General in Jerusalem to the  
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs  
(Received 20 January)*

**SUMMARY**

The situation has got rather worse, except in Israeli West Jerusalem. (Paragraphs 1-2.)

2. Kollek was re-elected as mayor; the best man in the circumstances. (Paragraph 3.)

3. Israeli developments were pushed forward in occupied East Jerusalem but no new ones started. Local Arab-Israeli relations were cold; they were further harmed by terrorism and, especially, the Aqsa mosque fire. (Paragraphs 4-5.)

4. The Christian churches had no material problems, but fear for their future. (Paragraph 6.)

5. On the West Bank fighting on the cease-fire line had only psychological effect. Fedayeen activity spread and Israeli counter-measures became more severe. Because of this, of the general state of Arab-Israeli relations and of Israeli actions and statements, moderate politicians were further discouraged and political life stagnant. (Paragraphs 7-10.)

6. Life still went on normally most of the time. The economic situation was not bad. The Arab population are not reconciled to Israeli rule, but can do little but await outside developments. (Paragraphs 11-12.)

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(Confidential)

Sir,

*Jerusalem,*

*5 January, 1970.*

Nothing happened in 1969 to change the underlying situation in this territory, which resulted from the Israeli victory of 1967 and was analysed in my annual review for 1968. It got a little worse. Since there was no movement towards Arab-Israeli peace but rather a drift towards war, there was correspondingly no sign of an end or modification to the Israeli occupation and some increase in violence.

2. West Jerusalem was the happy part. It has been effectively the capital of Israel for a generation and was given a new infusion of life by the events of 1967.

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It went on developing fast, with a building boom and municipal improvements. The influx of Israelis from the plains and of new immigrants was limited mainly by the housing shortage. It was another busy year for tourists.

3. The first municipal elections since the *anschluss* with East Jerusalem were held in October, and Mr. Teddy Kollek, having a majority of supporters in the new municipal council, was subsequently re-elected as mayor. The council is still wholly Israeli, no acceptable Arab candidates having agreed to stand. Some Arabs of East Jerusalem, perhaps 12 per cent of those holding the franchise, which rests on residence not nationality, voted in the election. This was however hardly a vote for Israeli rule, over which they have no choice. Some thought by the act of voting to safeguard their personal interests; others, with more reason, that Kollek was the best Israeli mayor the Arabs were likely to get. Kollek's election however rested on Israeli votes and he is thus supported in his policy of energetic development of Jerusalem as a united city, but with reasonable regard for Arab interests and susceptibilities. Given the present circumstances, his election is a hopeful sign for the immediate future of the city.

4. East Jerusalem, in Israeli eyes but no one else's part of a legally united city, is still in essence an Arab city under occupation. The Arab inhabitants are still Jordanian and not Israeli citizens. The Israeli developments already in progress there: housing estates to the north, rebuilding and expansion of the Hebrew University premises on Mount Scopus, conversion of a hospital building into the police headquarters for the whole of Israel, and reconstruction of the Jewish quarter of the Old City, were pressed forward vigorously during 1969, but no significant new ones were started. Except in these distinct areas there was no Jewish settlement. Although their relations remained coldly correct, the latent hostility between the populations was unabated. This was not unnatural in the general state of Arab-Israeli relations but there were two local contributory factors. The first was the continuation of minor but sometimes lethal terror attacks with time-bombs, grenades and rockets aimed mostly at Israeli civilians. The second, of wider import, was the fire at the Al Aqsa mosque on 21 August. This, though clearly shown in a lengthy trial to have been the sole work of a demented Australian visitor, touched Moslem sentiment on a very sore spot and caused an upsurge of feeling against Israel not only locally but throughout the Moslem world.

5. The mosque is the third holiest place of Islam. Despite Israeli disclaimers the Moslems already felt that the mosque, and their whole position in Jerusalem, was threatened by Jewish Israeli encroachment. There had been a further earnest of this only a month before in the demolition and requisition of Moslem property (of no great intrinsic value) in the adjacent Wailing Wall area. No Israeli court proceedings therefore could persuade even intelligent Moslems that the fire was not part of a deep-laid Jewish plot to oust them from the Haram esh Sharif (Temple Mount) on which the mosque stands; the more so since some Jews, though probably an ineffective minority, would indeed like to do this and say so.

6. The Christian churches had few material problems. Their property and traditions were respected and their relations among themselves quite good. Their main concern lay in the decline of native (Arab) Christian communities through emigration, which seems to be a fact, and the possible future decline of monastic communities through administrative and economic difficulties. They saw a particular threat to the future of their communities in an Israeli law passed in July for the control of private schools, including church schools. Their fears may prove to have been exaggerated and they have entered jointly into negotiations with the Israeli authorities to clarify and amend this law.

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7. The West Bank of Jordan remained under military Government with access to Jerusalem normally free, though subject to permit regulations spasmodically enforced. The cease-fire line on the River Jordan was the scene of frequent exchanges of fire between Israeli forces on the one side and Jordanian and other Arab forces, including fedayeen, on the other. Except for a few shells in the region of Jericho this did not materially affect the West Bank population, since the area near the river is a depopulated military zone. It helped however to maintain a war psychology. Armed bands of fedayeen continued to infiltrate with difficulty and loss. They had no noticeable military effect, but together with locally recruited guerillas they kept up a trickle of shooting and bomb incidents directed mostly against Israeli targets, but often causing Arab victims. There were several murders of local people suspected of informing on the fedayeen, who thus encouraged the population to collaborate at least passively with them. The fedayeen were particularly active in the Bethlehem and Hebron areas, which had previously been comparatively quiet. Evidence also came to light, following attacks in Israel proper, that a certain number of Israeli Arabs were in league with fedayeen on the West Bank.

8. The occupying forces applied their usual counter-measures but more severely than hitherto. Peaceful strikes and demonstrations were no longer tolerated, whether in East Jerusalem or the West Bank. They were stopped by force and ringleaders imprisoned or expelled to East Jordan. With the rise in terrorist incidents, the punitive demolition of houses was also stepped up. It was used not merely as a swift punishment in cases of flagrant guilt but as a means of counter-pressure against passive collaboration with the fedayeen. This bore harshly on occupants whose guilt was unproven, and was bitterly resented as an injustice. Restrictions on trade and movement as well as conventional curfews were also imposed from time to time on areas in which civil unrest or terrorist activity occurred, not merely, as hitherto, to facilitate investigation, but as regional punishments. On the whole the security forces though sorely tried still behaved with moderation. No death penalties were imposed. A question mark still hangs over the treatment of suspects before trial.

9. In driving the Israelis to harsher measures and making an accommodation more remote, the "resistance" had some political success. The voices calling for a separate West Bank arrangement with Israel were fainter than ever, and the fedayeen seemed more convincing representatives of the Palestinian cause. Neither the general situation nor the attitudes of the Arab or Israeli Governments were conducive to thoughts of peace in the occupied territories. Four things in particular discouraged the moderate Palestinians: Israeli intransigence over East Jerusalem and suspected designs on the Moslem holy places there; the conversion of the Haram el Khalil at Hebron (which houses the tomb of the Patriarchs) into virtually a Jewish shrine in which the Moslems are very junior partners; the establishment of a permanent Israeli civilian settlement at Kfar Etzion and its extension in 1969 on to newly seized land, and the assertions by the Israeli Prime Minister that the Palestinians do not exist as a people.

10. Politically therefore both the West Bank and East Jerusalem remained active in a state of suspended animation. It was a bad year for the principal mayors: Sheikh Ja'abari of Hebron remained in office, but saw the collapse of his efforts to keep terrorism out of his region and of his faith in negotiation with the Israelis when they took more land for Kfar Etzion; Hamdi Kana'an of Nablus tired of the local factions and their counterparts in Amman and resigned; Nadim Zarou of Ramallah said what he thought of the Israelis once too often and was deported; the region was thus as far as ever from developing any coherent political leadership.

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11. With all this, everyday life went on fairly normally for most people most of the time. Though restrictions were tighter and more arbitrary, trade and a fair amount of personal movement went on both with East Jordan and Israel. It seems (without firm statistics) to have been another reasonable year economically, though there are few outward signs of prosperity. Several thousand daily workers from East Jerusalem and the West Bank earned good wages in West Jerusalem and Israel proper, though this might not go on if the Israeli boom slackens. Agricultural yields and markets were quite good. Some improvements in strains and adjustments of crops to outlets have been made with Israeli technical help, using to a large extent research stations and extension schemes previously set up by the Jordanians. Against this, the tourist and white collar trades in East Jerusalem are still having a thin time, being left partly stranded by the change in direction and character of the tourist trade, and there is, as there has long been, considerable under-employment, especially among the occupants of the refugee camps.

12. But no more than the Israelis do the Palestinian Arabs live by bread alone. There is no sign of their being reconciled to their state of subjection nor of their being able to exert much influence politically or militarily on their destiny. They can only await developments from outside, as the majority are doing, or join the fedayeen and after a brief spell of action join their 3,000 fellows in Israeli gaols, or abandon their homeland and emigrate.

13. A calendar of events is attached.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Tel Aviv, Amman, Beirut, Cairo, Baghdad, Judda, Tripoli, Algiers, Tunis, Rabat, Washington, Paris, Moscow, Nicosia, the Holy See and the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations, and to the Commander, British Forces in the Near East.

I have, etc.,

J. H. LEWEN.

#### Enclosure

#### Calendar of events in 1969

##### *January*

- 5 Schoolgirl demonstration in Nablus.
- 6 Bomb attack on Greek Orthodox monastery at baptismal site on River Jordan.
- 7 Two Nablus lawyers deported to East Jordan for anti-Israel activities.
- 26-28 Sit-down strike by Arab women in Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, in general protest against Israeli occupation.
- 3 Jan.-20 Feb. Numerous schoolgirl demonstrations and school strikes on West Bank.

##### *February*

- 10 Seven West Bankers deported for instigating school disturbances.
- 12 Bomb exploded at East Jerusalem bus station.
- 18 Two grenades thrown at an Israeli Government office in Jerusalem.
- 21 Bomb exploded at supermarket in West Jerusalem. Two dead.
- 25 Time bomb discovered at Her Majesty's Consul-General's residence.
- 25 Time bomb exploded at Consulate-General, causing structural damage.

##### *March*

- 6 Bomb exploded at Hebrew University in West Jerusalem, causing injuries.
- 18 The Mayor of Nablus, Hamdi Kana'an, resigned.
- 24 Kassem Abu Akr Tlimi (28) died while in Israeli custody on suspicion of terrorist activity.

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*March*

- 28 Women's demonstrations protesting at death of Kassem dispersed forcibly in East Jerusalem. Israeli Minister of Police announced that all demonstrations in East Jerusalem would be stopped by force.  
Seven civilian lorry drivers from the West Bank killed in Israeli raid on Salt in East Jordan.

*April*

- 3 Nuha Odeh, Ramallah schoolgirl, deported for association with terrorist activities.  
16 Rev. Elias Khoury, Arab Anglican clergyman in Ramallah, and Dr. Nabih A. Muamr, Medical Director of Moslem hospital on Mount of Olives, deported for association with terrorist activities.  
22 Punitive demolitions near Jenin.

*May*

- 6 Nahal Argaman, Israeli para-military settlement, formally established in occupied Jordan valley.  
Faisal Kan'an, Nablus dentist, deported for supporting terrorist activities.  
9 Punitive demolitions in Nablus.  
13 Arab shot dead in Nablus for "collaboration" with Israeli security forces.  
14 Dedication of Ramat Eshkol, Israeli housing estate built on expropriated land in East Jerusalem.  
15 Second anniversary (by Jewish Calendar) of "reunification" of Jerusalem. Strikes in Jerusalem and Nablus. Travel passes withdrawn from Nablus merchants and transport drivers.  
Jericho hit by shellfire from East Jordan.

*June*

- 5 Second anniversary of Six-day War.  
Complete shop strike in East Jerusalem.  
9 Nine people deported to East Jordan for anti-Israeli subversion.  
15 Demolition by Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs of Fakhriya Moslem Hostel and other buildings near the Western Wall of Al Haram A-Sharif in the Old City of Jerusalem.  
16 Ma'zouz Al Masri appointed Mayor of Nablus.  
17 American girl tourist killed near Dead Sea by shellfire from East Jordan.  
20 Bombs exploded in street leading to the Western (Wailing) Wall in the Old City. Minor injuries.  
23 Old Sharia Court building and four apartment buildings in Old City requisitioned for security purposes following the explosion of 20 June.  
30 young Israelis prevented by security forces from establishing a settlement at Nablus.  
30 June-4 July First meeting of the "Jerusalem Committee", set up by the Israeli mayor to secure international advice and support for Israeli development of the city.

*July*

- 17 Israeli law on control of private schools (including church schools) passed.  
20 Formal opening of Armenian Exhibition in Old City under the auspices of the Israeli mayor. Consular Corps declined to attend.  
30 Dedication of Rosh Tsurim Israeli civilian settlement on newly requisitioned land in Kfar Etzion block in occupied West Bank.

*August*

- 11 Jordanian Senator, Rashad El Khatib of Hebron, deported.  
21 Fire at Al Aqsa mosque.  
22 Denis Michael Rohan, Australian, arrested on charge of arson at the Al Aqsa mosque.  
24 Mukhtow and four other men of Halhoul village murdered by terrorists for "collaboration".  
26 Katyusha rockets fired at West Jerusalem from Beit Sahur region near Bethlehem. No harm.

**CONFIDENTIAL***August*

- 27 Israeli municipality served rates demand on Her Majesty's Consul-General in reprisal for boycott of Armenian Exhibition.  
 29 Curfew imposed on area, including eastern section of Beit Sahur, from which Katyusha rockets had been fired.

*September*

- 16 Deportation of two Hebronites for promoting terrorist activity. Arab housing project begun at Wadiqaz in East Jerusalem.  
 19 Punitive trade restrictions imposed on Hebron.  
 Al Aqsa mosque reopened for prayers.  
 25 Publication of report of Israeli Commission of Inquiry on Aqsa fire.  
 29 Five West Bankers, including the Mufti of Hebron and Nadim Zarou, Mayor of Ramallah, deported.  
 Rohan trial began.

*October*

- 10 Rates demand on Consulate-General withdrawn.  
 14 Announcement of establishment of two new Israeli para-military settlements in lower Jordan valley: Masua and Hagilgal.  
 16-18 Curfew in force on Halhoul.  
 21 Israeli para-military settlement formally inaugurated in Latrun salient.  
 23 A-Salahiya boys' high school in Nablus closed down and confiscated by Military Government because of student unrest.  
 24 Israeli officer shot dead by fedayeen in Halhoul. Several terrorist suspects arrested.  
 25 Punitive demolition of 18 buildings in Halhoul.  
 28 Municipal elections in Jerusalem. Labour Alignment gained 16 out of 31 seats.  
*Times* article by Foreign Editor on occupied territories.

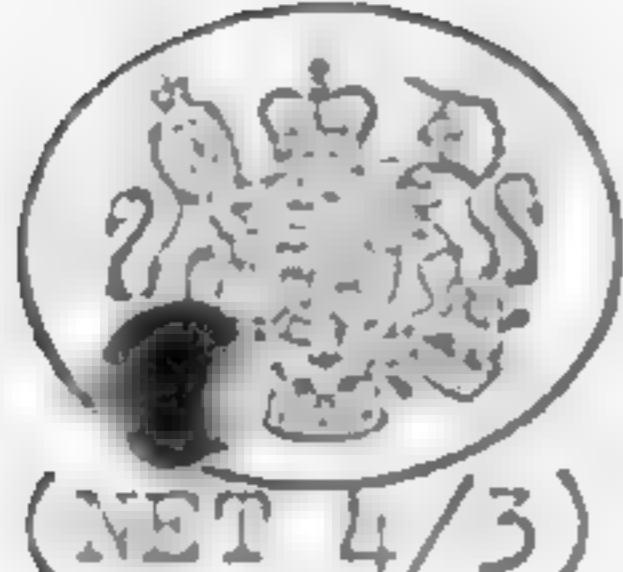
*November*

- 3 Hand grenade, thrown at Consul-General's residence, exploded harmlessly in road.  
 4 Three leaders of Ta'amreh Tribe (Bethlehem area) deported.  
 10 Mr. Antony Nutting refused entry into Israeli-occupied territory from Jordan.  
 11 Jewish settlers in Hebron open Jewish restaurant near Tomb of the Patriarchs.  
 18 Jordanian Foreign Ministry announced that deportees from the West Bank would no longer be allowed entry into East Jordan.  
 19 Khalil Mousa Khalil appointed Mayor of Ramallah.  
 25 Mr. Teddy Kollek re-elected Mayor of Jerusalem.

*December*

- 7 Four men from Abadia village charged in connection with Katyusha rocket attack on Jerusalem of 26 August.  
 8 Israel Foreign Minister again rejected Security Council demands for the rescission of Israeli measures affecting East Jerusalem.  
 20 Grenade thrown in centre of Nablus, wounding 14 people. Several shops closed by order of Military Government.  
 27 United States tourist killed by terrorist small-arms fire south of Hebron.  
 28 Grenade thrown in centre of Nablus wounding 12 people. Curfew imposed.  
 30 Rohan found by Jerusalem District Court to be the author of the Aqsa mosque fire, but not criminally responsible because of mental illness.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
London S.W.1

19 January, 1970.

(2)

Jerusalem and the West Bank of Jordan

I am writing (as the libretto of the Messiah has it) "to speak comfortably to Jerusalem" and to thank you for your Annual Review for 1969. We found it a most valuable account of events during the year. It was dispassionate and balanced in a way which must be extremely difficult to achieve in a place where everyone else is very far from being balanced or dispassionate.

2. I should like at the same time to thank you for all the other reports you have sent us about Jerusalem and the West Bank. They have been models of clarity and good sense. You have sent us just what we wanted, in terms both of quantity and subject matter. I am only sorry that the pressure of work has usually made it difficult for us to thank you for the reports as they have come in.

(J.P. Tripp)

J.H. Lewen, Esq.,  
British Consulate General,  
JERUSALEM

c.c. H.E. Mr. E.J.W. Barnes, MBE,  
TEL AVIV

H.E. Sir Philip Adams, KCMG,  
AMMAN

[ D.J. Wyatt, Esq.,  
Personnel Operations Dept.]

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr Tripp.Mr. Evansfor  
me(Copy reviewed  
to Mr Long).Jerusalem and the West Bank of Jordan

1971

Annual Review for 1969

...

I attach one copy of this despatch, prepared for printing according to the new instructions, with form IR.20 completed in duplicate. I also attach a second copy with the usual pro forma for submission through Mr. Tripp to Under Secretaries. Two further spare copies are attached behind. If you agree, one of them could be circulated inside the department.

Yes

Yes.

2. The review is clear, dispassionate and balanced. Its burden is that in Jerusalem and the West Bank the passage of time is gradually making a settlement even harder to attain. Violence is increasing, and there are almost no hopeful signs from the Arab point of view. There are no outstanding incidents apart from the fire at the el-Aqsa Mosque: it is simply "more of the same".

Curry

(C. W. Long)  
12 January, 1970

Submitted  
Noted on  
Pro-forma  
minie.

Draft letter of thanks also submitted,  
as you asked.

Curry  
1x1,

R.D.Evans

19 January, 1970.

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BRITISH CONSULATE-GENERAL,  
JERUSALEM.

5 January, 1970.

Minute  
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JERUSALEM AND THE WEST BANK OF JORDAN:

ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1969.

(Mr. J. H. Lewen to Mr. Michael Stewart)

SUMMARY

The situation has got rather worse, except in Israeli West Jerusalem. (Paragraphs 1 and 2).

2. Kollek was re-elected as mayor; the best man in the circumstances. (Paragraph 3).

3. Israeli developments were pushed forward in occupied East Jerusalem but no new ones started. Local Arab-Israeli relations were cold; they were further harmed by terrorism and, especially, the Aqsa mosque fire. (Paragraphs 4 and 5).

4. The Christian churches had no material problems, but fear for their future. (Paragraph 6).

5. On the West Bank fighting on the cease fire line had only psychological effect. Fedayeen activity spread and Israeli counter measures became more severe. Because of this, of the general state of Arab-Israeli relations and of Israeli actions and statements, moderate politicians were further discouraged and political life stagnant. (Paragraphs 7-10).

6. Life still went on normally most of the time. The economic situation was not bad. The Arab population are not reconciled to Israeli rule, but can do little but await outside developments. (Paragraphs 11 and 12).

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BRITISH CONSULATE-GENERAL,  
JERUSALEM.

5 January, 1970.

Sir,

Jerusalem and the West Bank of Jordan:  
Annual Review for 1969.

Nothing happened in 1969 to change the underlying situation in this territory, which resulted from the Israeli victory of 1967 and was analysed in my annual review for 1968. It got a little worse. Since there was no movement towards Arab-Israeli peace but rather a drift towards war, there was correspondingly no sign of an end or modification to the Israeli occupation and some increase in violence.

2. West Jerusalem was the happy part. It has been effectively the capital of Israel for a generation and was given a new infusion of life by the events of 1967. It went on developing fast, with a building boom and municipal improvements. The influx of Israelis from the plains and of new immigrants was limited mainly by the housing shortage. It was another busy year for tourists.

3. The first municipal elections since the anschluss with East Jerusalem were held in October, and Mr. Teddy Kollek, having a majority of supporters in the new municipal council, was subsequently re-elected as mayor. The council is still wholly Israeli, no acceptable Arab candidates having agreed to stand.

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The Right Honourable  
Michael Stewart, C.H., M.P.,  
etc., etc., etc.,

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Some Arabs of East Jerusalem, perhaps 12% of those holding the franchise, which rests on residence not nationality, voted in the election. This was however hardly a vote for Israeli rule, over which they have no choice. Some thought by the act of voting to safeguard their personal interests; others, with more reason, that Kollek was the best Israeli mayor the Arabs were likely to get. Kollek's election however rested on Israeli votes and he is thus supported in his policy of energetic development of Jerusalem as a united city, but with reasonable regard for Arab interests and susceptibilities. Given the present circumstances, his election is a hopeful sign for the immediate future of the city.

4. East Jerusalem, in Israeli eyes but no one else's part of a legally united city, is still in essence an Arab city under occupation. The Arab inhabitants are still Jordanian and not Israeli citizens. The Israeli developments already in progress there: housing estates to the North, rebuilding and expansion of the Hebrew University premises on Mount Scopus, conversion of a hospital building into the Police headquarters for the whole of Israel, and reconstruction of the Jewish quarter of the Old City, were pressed forward vigorously during 1969, but no significant new ones were started. Except in these distinct areas there was no Jewish settlement. Although their relations remained coldly correct, the latent hostility between the populations was unabated. This was not unnatural in the general state of Arab-Israeli relations but there were two local contributory factors. The first was the continuation of minor but sometimes lethal terror attacks with time-bombs, grenades and rockets aimed mostly at Israeli civilians. The second, of wider import, was the fire

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at the Al Aqsa mosque on the 21st of August. This, though clearly shown in a lengthy trial to have been the sole work of a demented Australian visitor, touched Moslem sentiment on a very sore spot and caused an upsurge of feeling against Israel not only locally but throughout the Moslem world.

5. The mosque is the third holiest place of Islam. Despite Israeli disclaimers the Moslems already felt that the mosque, and their whole position in Jerusalem, was threatened by Jewish Israeli encroachment. There had been a further earnest of this only a month before in the demolition and requisition of Moslem property (of no great intrinsic value) in the adjacent Wailing Wall area. No Israeli court proceedings therefore could persuade even intelligent Moslems that the fire was not part of a deep laid Jewish plot to oust them from the Haram esh Sharif (Temple Mount) on which the mosque stands; the more so since some Jews, though probably an ineffective minority, would indeed like to do this and say so.

6. The Christian churches had few material problems. Their property and traditions were respected and their relations among themselves quite good. Their main concern lay in the decline of native (Arab) Christian communities through emigration, which seems to be a fact, and the possible future decline of monastic communities through administrative and economic difficulties. They saw a particular threat to the future of their communities in an Israeli law passed in July for the control of private schools, including church schools. Their fears may prove to have been exaggerated and they have entered jointly into negotiations with

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the Israeli authorities to clarify and amend this law.

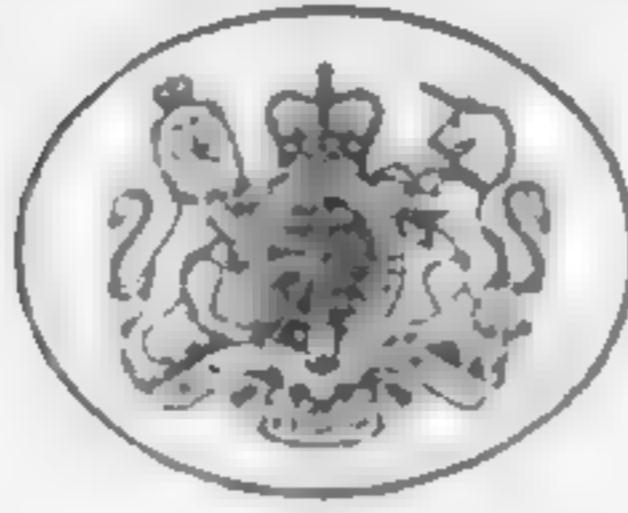
7. The West Bank of Jordan remained under military government with access to Jerusalem normally free, though subject to permit regulations spasmodically enforced. The cease fire line on the River Jordan was the scene of frequent exchanges of fire between Israeli forces on the one side and Jordanian and other Arab forces, including fedayeen, on the other. Except for a few shells in the region of Jericho, this did not materially affect the West Bank population, since the area near the river is a depopulated military zone. It helped however to maintain a war psychology. Armed bands of fedayeen continued to infiltrate with difficulty and loss. They had no noticeable military effect, but together with locally recruited guerillas they kept up a trickle of shooting and bomb incidents directed mostly against Israeli targets, but often causing Arab victims. There were several murders of local people suspected of informing on the fedayeen, who thus encouraged the population to collaborate at least passively with them. The fedayeen were particularly active in the Bethlehem and Hebron areas, which had previously been comparatively quiet. Evidence also came to light, following attacks in Israel proper, that a certain number of Israeli Arabs were in league with fedayeen on the West Bank.

8. The occupying forces applied their usual countermeasures but more severely than hitherto. Peaceful strikes and demonstrations were no longer tolerated, whether in East Jerusalem or the West Bank. They were stopped by force and ringleaders imprisoned or expelled to East Jordan. With the rise in terrorist incidents, the punitive demolition of houses was also

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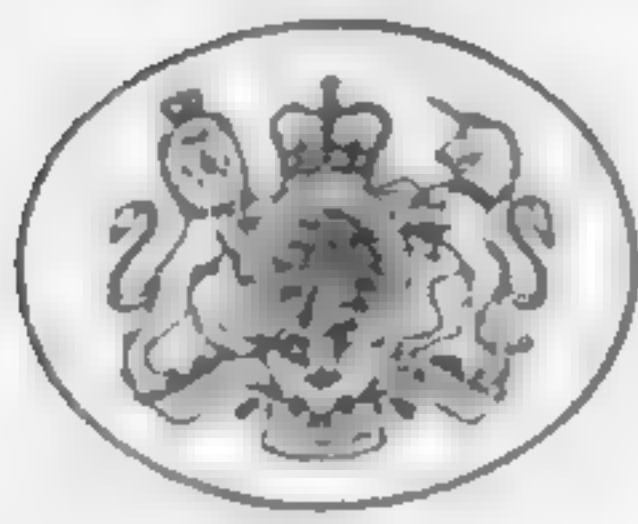
stepped up. It was used not merely as a swift punishment in cases of flagrant guilt but as a means of counter pressure against passive collaboration with the fedayeen. This bore harshly on occupants whose guilt was unproven, and was bitterly resented as an injustice. Restrictions on trade and movement as well as conventional curfews were also imposed from time to time on areas in which civil unrest or terrorist activity occurred, not merely, as hitherto, to facilitate investigation, but as regional punishments. On the whole the security forces though sorely tried still behaved with moderation. No death penalties were imposed. A question mark still hangs over the treatment of suspects before trial.

9. In driving the Israelis to harsher measures and making an accommodation more remote, the "resistance" had some political success. The voices calling for a separate West Bank arrangement with Israel were fainter than ever, and the fedayeen seemed more convincing representatives of the Palestinian cause. Neither the general situation nor the attitudes of the Arab or Israeli Governments were conducive to thoughts of peace in the occupied territories. Four things in particular discouraged the moderate Palestinians: Israeli intransigence over East Jerusalem and suspected designs on the Moslem holy places there; the conversion of the Haram el Khalil at Hebron (which houses the tomb of the Patriarchs) into virtually a Jewish shrine in which the Moslems are very junior partners; the establishment of a permanent Israeli civilian settlement at Kfar Etzion and its extension in 1969 on to newly seized land, and the assertions by the Israeli Prime Minister that the Palestinians do not exist as a people.

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I 10. Politically therefore both the West Bank and East Jerusalem remained active in a state of suspended animation. It was a bad year for the principal mayors. Sheikh Ja'abari of Hebron remained in office, but saw the collapse of his efforts to keep terrorism out of his region and of his faith in negotiation with the Israelis when they took more land for Kfar Etzion. Hamdi Kana'an of Nablus tired of the local factions and their counterparts in Amman and resigned. Nadim Zarou of Ramallah said what he thought of the Israelis once too often and was deported. The region was thus as far as ever from developing any coherent political leadership.

II 11. With all this, everyday life went on fairly normally for most people most of the time. Though restrictions were tighter and more arbitrary, trade and a fair amount of personal movement went on both with East Jordan and Israel. It seems (without firm statistics) to have been another reasonable year economically, though there are few outward signs of prosperity. Several thousand daily workers from East Jerusalem and the West Bank earned good wages in West Jerusalem and Israel proper, though this might not go on if the Israeli boom slackens. Agricultural yields and markets were quite good. Some improvements in strains and adjustments of crops to outlets have been made with Israeli technical help, using to a large extent research stations and extension schemes previously set up by the Jordanians. Against this, the tourist and white collar trades in East Jerusalem are still having a thin time, being left partly stranded by the change in direction and character of the tourist trade, and there is as there has long been, considerable underemployment, especially among the occupants

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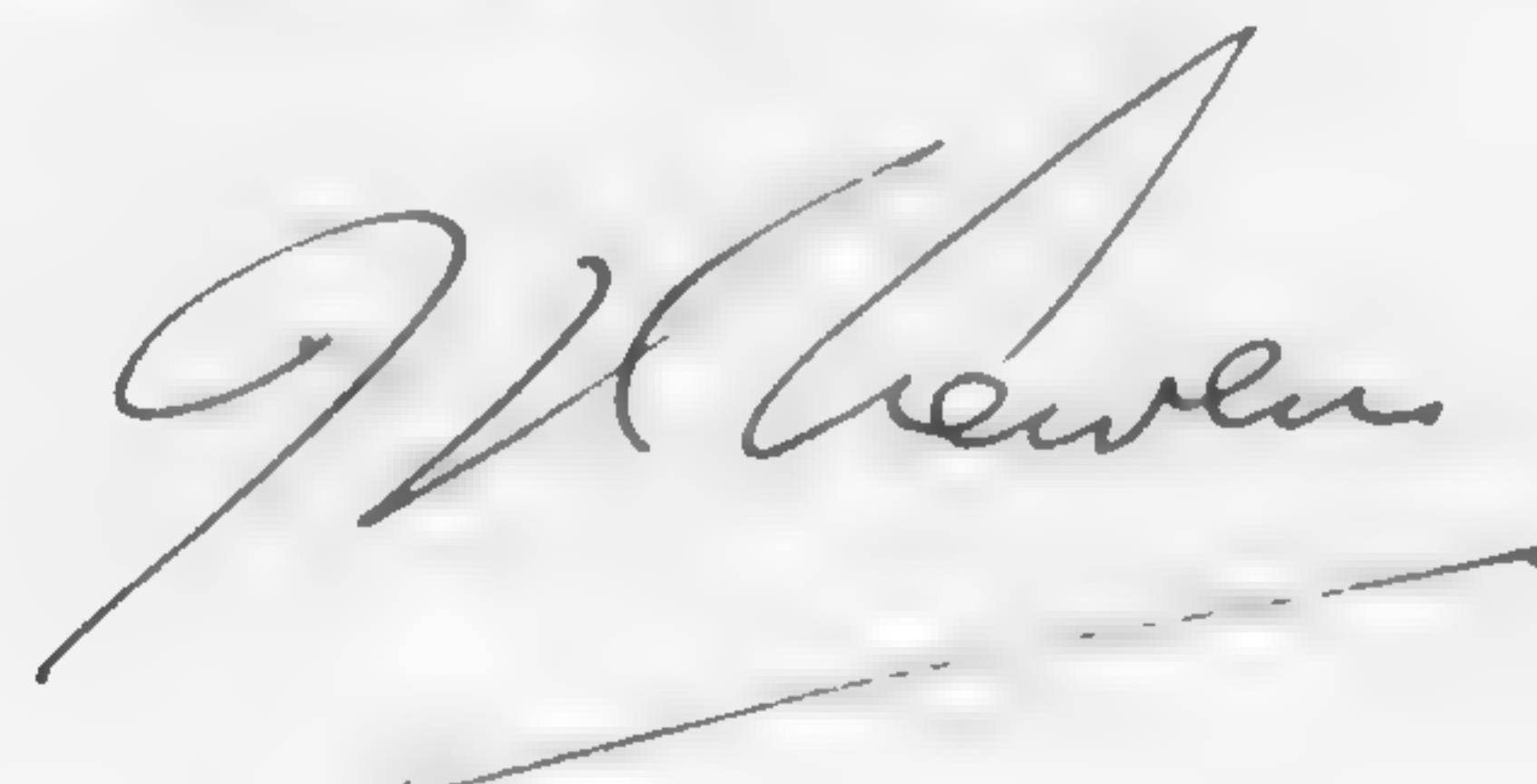
of the refugee camps.

12. But no more than the Israelis do the Palestinian Arabs live by bread alone. There is no sign of their being reconciled to their state of subjection nor of their being able to exert much influence politically or militarily on their destiny. They can only await developments from outside, as the majority are doing, or join the fedayeen and after a brief spell of action join their 3,000 fellows in Israeli gaols, or abandon their home land and emigrate.

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13. A calender of events is attached.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Tel Aviv, Amman, Beirut, Cairo, Baghdad, Jeddah, Tripoli, Algiers, Tunis, Rabat, Washington, Paris, Moscow, Nicosia, the Holy See and the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations, and to the Commander, British Forces in the Near East.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient Servant,



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "M. A. Llewelyn".

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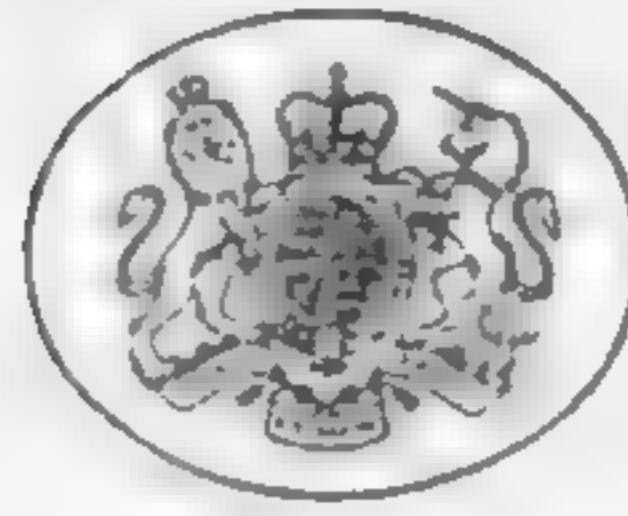
Jerusalem and the West Bank of Jordan:  
Calendar of Events, 1969.

- 5 January Schoolgirl demonstration in Nablus.
- 6 January Bomb attack on Greek Orthodox monastery at Baptismal site on River Jordan.
- 7 January 2 Nablus lawyers deported to East ~~Sudan~~<sup>Jordan</sup> for anti-Israel activities.
- 26-28 January Sit-down strike by Arab women in Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, in general protest against Israeli occupation.
- 3-20 February Numerous schoolgirl demonstrations and school strikes on West Bank.
- 10 February Seven West Bankers deported for instigating school disturbances.
- 12 February Bomb exploded at East Jerusalem bus station.
- 18 February Two grenades thrown at an Israeli Government office in Jerusalem.
- 21 February Bomb exploded at supermarket in West Jerusalem. 2 dead.  
Time bomb discovered at H.M. Consul-General's Residence.
- 25 February Time bomb exploded at Consulate General, causing structural damage.
- 6 March Bomb exploded at Hebrew University in West Jerusalem, causing injuries.
- 18 March The Mayor of Nablus, Hamdi Kana'an, resigned.
- 24 March Kassem Abu Akr Tlimi (28) died while in Israeli custody on suspicion of terrorist activity.

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activity.

28 March

Women's demonstrations protesting at death of Kassem dispersed forcibly in East Jerusalem. Israeli Minister of Police announced that all demonstrations in East Jerusalem would be stopped by force.

Seven civilian lorry drivers from the West Bank killed in Israeli raid on Salt in East Jordan.

3 April

Nuha Odeh, Ramallah schoolgirl, deported for association with terrorist activities.

16 April

Rev. Elias Khoury, Arab Anglican clergyman in Ramallah, and Dr. Nabih A. Muamr, Medical Director of Moslem hospital on Mount of Olives, deported for association with terrorist activities.

22 April

Punitive demolitions near Jenin.

6 May

Nahal Argaman, Israeli para-military settlement, formally established in occupied Jordan valley.

Faisal Kan'an, Nablus dentist, deported for supporting terrorist activities.

9 May

Punitive demolitions in Nablus.

13 May

Arab shot dead in Nablus for "collaboration" with Israeli security forces.

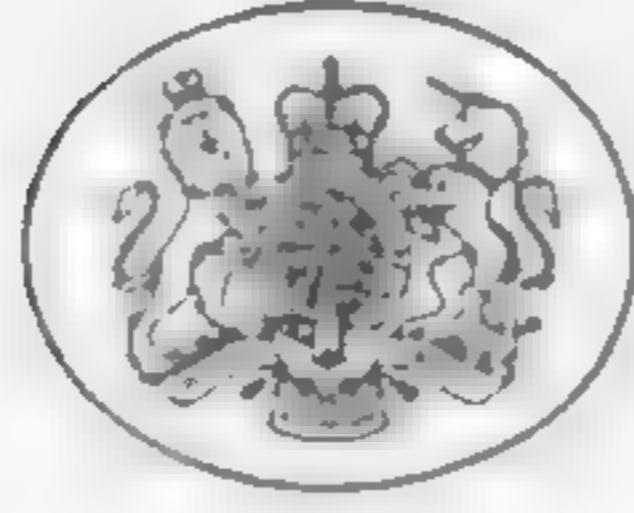
14 May

Dedication of Ramat Eshkol, Israeli Housing Estate built on expropriated land in East Jerusalem.

/15 May

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15 May

Second Anniversary (by Jewish Calendar) of "reunification" of Jerusalem. Strikes in Jerusalem and Nablus. Travel passes withdrawn from Nablus merchants and transport drivers.

Jericho hit by shell fire from East Jordan.

5 June

Second Anniversary of Six Day War.

Complete shop strike in East Jerusalem.

9 June

Nine people deported to East Jordan for anti-Israeli subversion.

15 June

Demolition by Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs of Fakhriya Moslem Hostel and other buildings near the Western Wall of Al Haram A-Sharif in the Old City of Jerusalem.

16 June

Ma'zouz Al Masri appointed Mayor of Nablus.

17 June

American girl terrorist killed near Dead Sea by shellfire from East Jordan.

20 June

Bombs exploded in street leading to the Western (Wailing) Wall in the Old City. Minor injuries.

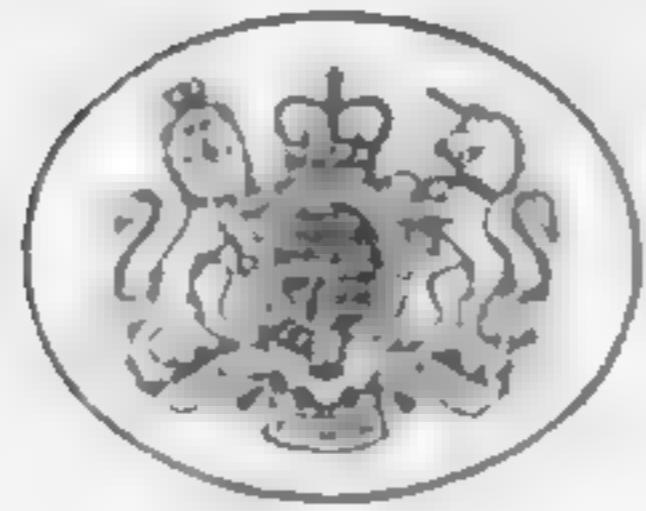
23 June

Old Sharia Court building and four apartment buildings in Old City requisitioned for security purposes following the explosions of 20 June. Thirty young Israelis prevented by security forces from establishing a settlement at Nablus.

/30 June

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30 June to 4

July

First meeting of the "Jerusalem Committee", set up by the Israeli mayor to secure international advice and support for Israeli development of the city.

17 July

Israeli law on control of private schools (including church schools) passed.

20 July

Formal opening of Armenian Exhibition in Old City under the auspices of the Israeli mayor. Consular Corps declined to attend.

30 July

Dedication of Rosh Tsurim Israeli civilian settlement on newly requisitioned land in Kfar Etzion block in occupied West Bank.

11 August

Jordanian Senator, Rashad El Khatib of Hebron, deported.

21 August

Fire at Al Aqsa mosque.

22 August

Denis Michael Rohan, Australian, arrested on charge of arson at the Al Aqsa mosque.

24 August

Mukhtow and 4 other men of Halhoul village murdered by terrorists for "collaboration".

26 August

Katyusha rockets fired at West Jerusalem from Beit Sahur region near Bethlehem. No harm.

27 August

Israeli Municipality served rates demand

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on H.M. Consulate-General in reprisal  
for boycott of Armenian Exhibition.

29 August

Curfew imposed on area, including  
eastern section of Beit Sahur, from  
which Katyusha rockets had been fired.

16 September

Deportation of two Hebronites for  
promoting terrorist activity. Arab  
Housing Project begun at Wadiqaz in  
East Jerusalem.

19 September

Punitive trade restrictions imposed on  
Hebron.

Al Aqsa Mosque reopened for prayers.

25 September

Publication of Report of Israeli  
Commission of Enquiry on Aqsa fire.

29 September

Five West Bankers, including the Mufti  
of Hebron and Nadim Zarou, Mayor of  
Ramallah, deported.

Rohan trial began.

10 October

Rates demand on Consulate-General withdrawn.

14 October

Announcement of establishment of two  
new Israeli para-military settlements in  
lower Jordan valley: Masua and Hagilgal.

16-18 October

Curfew in force on Halhoul.

21 October

Israeli para-military settlement formally  
inaugurated in Latrun salient.

23 October

A-Salahiya boys' high school in Nablus  
closed down and confiscated by Military  
Government because of student unrest.

24 October

Israeli officer shot dead by fedayeen in

/Halhoul.

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Halhoul. Several terrorist suspects arrested.

- 25 October Punitive demolition of 18 buildings in Halhoul.
- 28 October Municipal elections in Jerusalem. Labour Alignment gained 16 out of 31 seats. "Times" article by Foreign Editor on Occupied Territories.
- 3 November Hand grenade, thrown at Consul-General's Residence, exploded harmlessly in road.
- 4 November Three leaders of Ta'amreh Tribe (Bethlehem area) deported.
- 10 November Mr. Antony Nutting refused entry into Israeli occupied territory from Jordan.
- 11 November Jewish settlers in Hebron open Jewish Restaurant near Tomb of the Patriarchs.
- 18 November Jordanian Foreign Ministry announced that deportees from the West Bank would no longer be allowed entry into East Jordan.
- 19 November Khalil Mousa Khalil appointed Mayor of Ramallah.
- 25 November Mr. Teddy Kollek re-elected Mayor of Jerusalem.
- 7 December Four men from Abadia village charged in connection with Katyusha rocket attack on Jerusalem of 26 August.
- 8 December Israel Foreign Minister again rejected Security Council demands for the rescission

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of Israeli measures affecting East Jerusalem.

- 20 December      Grenade thrown in centre of Nablus, wounding 14 people. Several shops closed by order of Military Government.
- 27 December      U.S. tourist killed by terrorist small arms fire south of Hebron.
- 28 December      Grenade thrown in centre of Nablus wounding 12 people. Curfew imposed.
- 30 December      Rohan found by Jerusalem District Court to be the author of the Aqsa mosque fire, but not criminally responsible because of mental illness.

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